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# Scandinavian Studies

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## THE EMPLOYMENT OF RESUMPTIVE SÅ BY VARIOUS SWEDISH WRITERS

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IN THE article "The Resumptive Use of SÅ In Swedish"<sup>1</sup> there was presented a detailed account of the conditions under which this word may be employed to refer to an adverbial expression. The present study will show to what extent divers authors, in several kinds of composition, make use of resumptive sÅ; the writers and works examined were chosen largely at random from among available books.

Attention is here given to the employment of sÅ only when it follows subordinate clauses,<sup>2</sup> namely (1) conditional clauses (a) not introduced by a conjunction, (b) introduced by a conjunction; (2) non-conditional clauses.<sup>3</sup> Included in these categories without differentiation are such clauses when inserted into *att*-clauses.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 18 (1945), pp. 209-232.

<sup>2</sup> The use of sÅ after principal clauses has, except in one instance, been omitted from consideration. The employment of sÅ after adverbs and adverbial phrases will be mentioned sporadically in footnotes. From the fact that such usage has been taken notice of as occurring in a work of one or another writer it is not to be inferred that some other writers of those discussed do not employ sÅ under similar conditions.

<sup>3</sup> I have included occurrences of non-use of sÅ only when a given type of clause can also be followed by sÅ, not, for instance, non-use after clauses introduced by *Först när*. I have not included non-use after clauses referring to definite place; cf. the previous article, footnote 6. Occurrences after clauses that follow adverbs or adverbial phrases have been disregarded; cf. the previous article, footnote 11, third paragraph.

The percentage of use of sÅ is in most books larger after non-conditional clauses not introduced by a conjunction than after those introduced by a conjunction, but clauses of the former kind are much less numerous.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the previous article, footnote 13, first sentence.

Quoted material, whether actually such or merely feigned (the latter mostly having the form of letters, diary notations, and speeches), as well as illustrative examples, even those constructed by the writers themselves, have been omitted from consideration.

In the treatment of belletristic works distinction has been made between conversational and narrative text. Now, within the latter are many occurrences of what shall be called 'indirect presentation,' embracing not alone indirect statement (indirect discourse) and implied indirect statement but also what a character is reported as thinking and what he is impliedly thinking, as well as what he "says to himself."<sup>5</sup> Necessarily subject to varying moods in his double roll of narrator and of portrayer of characters—characters speaking in their own right, one might say—an author may at a given point in narrative text so con-

<sup>5</sup> Examples of indirect presentation are: (1) *Då sa lillfjunta, att om hon fick lov, så kunde hon ta lillgossen med sig och gå till Nygård.* (2) *Och de sa, att det var en Guds lycka, att de hade tagit in hos dem. Om de hade fortsatt framåt prostgårdsgårderna, så hade det inte slagit fel, att de hade frusit ihjäl alla tre.* (3) *Fotografen bad dem bestämma bakgrunden till fotografiet. Eftersom både herrn och fröken var unga och långa till växten, så skulle det kanske passa med ett par höga, smärta palmer?* (4) *Det fanns ingen så tråkig och gammal fru med på bröllopet, att hon inte satt och tänkte för sig själv, att bleve hon en gång så lycklig, att hon finge gifta bort sin dotter, så nog skulle ungdomen få dansa och de gamla även.* (5) *Då han äntligen kom i säng, låg han länge och räknade . . . Om utrustningen gick till 100 kronor . . . så kostade biljetten . . . [Sic!]* (6) *Beslutet var oryggligt: han skulle slå skollärare Mård. När han blev stor, så skulle han slå honom ordentligt.* (7) *Niklas sade sig själv, att när han bara fått pengarna och hunnit äta sig mätt, så skulle han bli i form igen.* In several of these examples we have seen the ideas "say" and "think" expressed only indirectly or in a preceding sentence. But often, in the case of thought, a word indicating this is not expressed at all, but the existence of indirect presentation must be inferred from the context. (1) *Om de lydde honom och höll i hästen när han flådde, så blev de rackare liksom han.* (2) *Nog skulle han lära sig läsa, alla stora och lyckliga människor hade en gång lärt sig det. Men det var en övergående plåga; när man blev stor så behövde man inte läsa mera.* (3) *Nu skulle han vänta, tills det blivit mörkt och då gå ned på landsvägen och under natten företa återtåget. Följde han vägarna, passade på i vägkorsen och beräknade väderstrecken rätt, så skulle han komma tillbaka till den väg, som han gick över samma afton, han flydde.* For these ten illustrations of indirect presentation there have been chosen only sentences and passages in which *så* is employed.

It need be admitted that the decision as to whether a sentence that seemed to be a case of indirect presentation should not rather be ascribed to purely narrative text has not always been easy to make.

stituted be expressing himself more or less realistically in the words of the person represented as talking or he may be expressing himself in his own words. It is not possible to know the attitude of the writer in any particular instance unless there be present some stylistic trait that makes it clear—but such is not often the case for the reason that stylistic criteria are here generally not convincing, since features of the popular styles are frequently to be found in the narrative in belletristic writing.<sup>6</sup> And as for *så*, it may also be omitted in the popular styles. It has therefore been necessary to set up for such material a separate category. But the extent of use of *så* in indirect presentation is on the whole close to that in the conversational matter, which indicates that at least as far as the employment of this word is concerned authors do largely write in such a way as their characters would have spoken.<sup>7</sup> This category is accordingly to be considered more or less as an adjunct to that of conversation; in the discussion it will however always be kept apart from this, for it is after all, or at least it may be, a mixture.

Mainly emphasized in the following pages is the extent of use and non-use of *så* after non-conditional clauses in narrative material. But for each book investigated there has been presented a full set of figures, which will enable the reader, also when no pertinent comment has been made, to compare the extent of employment of *så* after non-conditional clauses with that obtaining after the two types of conditional clauses; and—in the case of belletristic works—to compare the extent of employment of *så*

<sup>6</sup> With reference to stylistic matter in the present study, cf. the articles "The Swedish Styles and Their Names," *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, Vol. XV (1938), pp. 1-11, and "The Language of Swedish Belles-Lettres," *ibid.*, pp. 33-41.

<sup>7</sup> D. A. Sundén, in *Svensk språklära i sammandrag*<sup>20</sup> (Stockholm, 1937), §252, has commented on thoughts of characters expressed in narrative text. He discusses the subject in connection with his treatment of "Direkt och indirekt anföring samt referat": "I skönlitteraturen återger förf:n ofta de uppträdande personernas *tysta tankar*. Liksom vid utsagda tankar kan man även här nyttja den direkta el. indirekta anföringens form eller ock referatets framställningssätt. Men ehuru det hela är ett barn av förf:ns fantasi, måste han då likafullt söka särhålla sin egen skildring av de fiktiva tankarna från den skildring, han ger av dem som sina gestalters talesman." Sundén, to be sure, does not have reference to the stylistic form of language employed.

after these three kinds of clauses in narrative with that obtaining in indirect presentation and in conversation.

The following designations shall be employed: C=conversation, IP=indirect presentation, N=narrative; 1a=conditional clauses without a conjunction, 1b=conditional clauses with a conjunction, 2=non-conditional clauses. These two sets of signs will sometimes be employed separately, but they will generally be found combined; as, C1a=conditional clauses without a conjunction used in conversation, N2=non-conditional clauses occurring in narrative text. All percentage figures will show the extent of employment of *så*.<sup>8</sup> When the numerical relationship is such that no percentage can be given, for the reason that one of the numbers is zero (or both are zero), both numbers have been indicated.

We shall begin with Selma Lagerlöf. It is well known that she was liberal in the borrowing of features of the popular styles, and we could well expect to find her in the narrative making free use of resumptive *så* after non-conditional clauses as well as after conditional clauses. But in two of her books which I have examined this is by no means the case. In *En herrgårdssägen*<sup>9</sup> we find the following situation: C1a, 60%; C1b, 40%; C2, 93%—IP1a, 2 occurrences with *så*, none without; IP1b, 50%; IP2, 80%—N1a, 20%; N1b, no occurrence with *så*, 11 without; N2, 3.9%. There are but 5 occurrences of *så* after clauses of category N2 as against 123 omissions.<sup>10</sup> From *En saga om en saga och andra sagor*<sup>11</sup> we get these figures: C1a, 2 occurrences with *så*, none without; C1b, 48%; C2, 27%—IP1a, 50%; IP1b, 33%; IP2, 50%—N1a, no occurrence with *så*, 6 without; N1b, 17%; N2, 1.2%. Here there are only three occurrences of *så* after clauses of category N2, and the omissions number 252!

In Selma Lagerlöf's *Liljecronas hem*<sup>12</sup> resumptive *så* is more generously employed in the narrative: C1a, 83%; C1b, 58%; C2, 69%—IP1a, no occurrence with or without *så*; IP1b, 55.5%;

<sup>8</sup> Except in a summary showing the percentage of non-use of the conjunction in conditional clauses. <sup>9</sup> 8 ed., Stockholm, 1924.

<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless we encounter *så* in the narrative after several adverbial clauses: once *Hur som helst så* . . . and once *Men trots allt detta mod så* . . . Cf. the previous article, p. 231, second paragraph.

<sup>11</sup> 5 ed., Stockholm, 1909.

<sup>12</sup> Stockholm, 1912.

IP2, 33%—N1a, 42%; N1b, 45%; N2, 11%. On reading this book one gets the impression—which, indeed, the percentage bears out—that the author has here in indirect presentation often yielded to her narrative mood in the matter of the use of *så* after non-conditional clauses. Not included in the above figures is a “saga” through the medium of which a young lady cryptically tells her married sister the story of recent sad experiences; this forms the greater part of the fourth chapter, that entitled “Fröken Snövit” (pp. 43–90). The material in question has not been incorporated into the computation for the book as a whole for the reason that it is uncertain whether it should be considered as conversation, since one sister is talking with the other (the story is interrupted by frequent remarks and questions of the listening sister and replies of the other), or whether it should be considered as narrative, since the young lady is telling a story and the author might well here and there, or throughout, be assuming the roll of actual narrator. The figures for the “saga” are: 1a, 67%; 1b, 60%; 2, 15%. While the percentages for the employment of *så* after conditional clauses here seem to point toward conversation, there are so few occurrences (1, 2, 2, 3: a total of eight for all four categories) that they signify nothing. As for category 2, the 15% is close to the N2 percentage for the book, which we found to be 11, but this situation turns out to be meaningless when the figures are subjected to scrutiny. For it is a noteworthy feature of this novel that all the instances of the employment of *så* after non-conditional clauses in the narrative are to be found in less than half of the chapters and that almost all of them occur in the earlier chapters. If we examine the book chapter by chapter with reference to such clauses, we find the use of *så* to be as follows: 33%; 50%; no occurrence with *så*, 2 without; 50% (besides, 15% for the “saga”); 17%; 38%; 17%; no occurrence with *så*, 11 without; no occurrence with *så*, 17 without; no occurrence with *så*, 7 without; 12.5%; no occurrence with *så*, 17 without; no occurrence with *så*, 9 without; no occurrence with *så*, 19 without; 5%; no occurrence with *så*, 4 without; no occurrence with *så*, 6 without; no occurrence with *så*, 10 without. We see, then, that ten of the eighteen chapters have no occurrence of clauses of category 2 with *så*, but omit it 102 times after such clauses. In the remaining eight chapters there are 21 occurrences with *så*

and 67 without, or 24% (as against 11% for the entire novel). The greater extent of employment of *så* in the earlier chapters is consonant with their 'homey' atmosphere.<sup>13</sup>

We shall now turn to the same writer's *Charlotte Löwensköld*.<sup>14</sup> Concerning this, Louise von Hofsten says:<sup>15</sup>

I flera av citaten ovan återfinns ett för Selma Lagerlöf ytterst typiskt drag. Man kan i *Charlotte Löwensköld* finna otaliga exempel på samma sak, nämligen att 'så' inskjuts för att närmare sammanföra meningens satser.

On reading this comment one gets the impression that here will be encountered an overwhelming number of instances of the use of resumptive *så*. But one meets with disappointment; for Louise von Hofsten is in error when she says that one can find "otaliga" examples of *så* in this book. My tally, including categories C1a, C1b, C2, IP1a, IP1b, IP2, N1a, N1b, N2, and, in addition, principal (imperative) clauses, is 130. On the other hand, the number of omissions of *så* after clauses of these types is 252. About two-thirds of the 130 occurrences, furthermore, are to be found in indirect presentation and in conversation, where, at least, liberal employment of *så* cannot be considered as being exceptional, since after clauses of these categories it is abundantly present in the works of most belletristic authors. In detail, the situation in *Charlotte Löwensköld* is as follows: C1a, 3 occurrences with *så*, none without; C1b, 86%; C2, 51%—IP1a, 2 occurrences with *så*, none without; IP1b, 64%; IP2, 47%—N1a, no occurrence with *så*, 1 without; N1b, 40%; N2, 18%. But this book is similar to *Liljecronas hem* with reference to the distribution of the instances of the use of *så* after non-conditional clauses in the narrative, and indeed the situation is in *Charlotte Löwensköld* even more striking: Of the 37 occurrences in the novel, 21 are in the first chapter (pp. 5–36); the extent of its employment is here 62%, and this figure is indeed notable! But for the rest of the book (pp. 37–381) the corresponding figure is only 11%; as indicated above, the percentage for the entire novel is 18.

<sup>13</sup> In this part of the book it does not surprise us to find in the narrative text the expressions *Näst lillgossen förstås så . . .* and *Hur som helst så . . .* Cf. footnote 10.

<sup>14</sup> Stockholm, 1925.

<sup>15</sup> P. 162 in the article "Några stildrag hos Selma Lagerlöf med utgångspunkt från *Charlotte Löwensköld*," *Nyvenska studier*, Vol. XV (1935).

In Gustav av Geijerstam's *Boken om lille-bror*<sup>16</sup> the use of *så* is as follows: C1a, no occurrence with or without *så*; C1b, no occurrence with *så*, 1 without; C2, no occurrence with *så*, 6 without—IP1a, no occurrence with or without *så*; IP1b, 1 occurrence with *så*, none without; IP2, no occurrence with *så*, 1 without—N1a, 18%; N1b, 22%; N2, 6%.<sup>17</sup> Turning now to *Äktenskapets komedi*,<sup>18</sup> we find this situation: C1a, 3 occurrences with *så*, none without; C1b, 67%; C2, 30%—IP1a, 50%; IP1b, 2 occurrences with *så*, none without; IP2, no occurrence with or without *så*—N1a, 14%; N1b, 32%; N2, 3.4%. Here, then, Geijerstam employs *så* to an even less extent after clauses of category N2 than in *Boken om lille-bror*. But the same author's *Kampen om kärlek*<sup>19</sup> shows not a single occurrence of *så* after such clauses: C1a, 40%; C1b, 33%; C2, 5.5%—IP, no occurrence with or without *så*—N1a, 25%; N1b, no occurrence with *så*, 2 without; N2, no occurrence with *så*, 72 without. Clauses of category C2 are here almost as devoid of *så* as are those of category N2 (note category IP2), for there are only 2 occurrences with *så* to 18 without.

August Strindberg's *Röda rummet*<sup>20</sup> provides us with the following figures: C1a, 12 occurrences with *så*, none without; C1b, 16 occurrences with *så*, none without; C2, 92%—IP1a, no occurrence with or without *så*; IP1b, 1 occurrence with *så*, none without; IP2, 2 occurrences with *så*, none without—N1a, no occurrence with or without *så*; N1b, 50%; N2, 16%. It will be noted that the N2 percentage is here fairly high. In Strindberg's plays, which (exclusive of the stage directions, here disregarded) of necessity belong entirely to category C, *så* is freely used. *Fröken*

<sup>16</sup> 16 ed., Stockholm, 1909.

<sup>17</sup> In most of the books examined in the preparation of this article, *då* occurs as an emphatic resumptive word (cf. the previous article, pp. 226–228), in some sparingly, in others more freely. In the novels of Geijerstam the use of *då* is particularly pronounced. In *Boken om lille-bror*, for instance, we find in the narrative 27 occurrences after clauses introduced by *när* (also 2 occurrences in conversation), 5 after conditional clauses without a conjunction and 3 after conditional clauses with a conjunction. On the other hand, there are only 11 occurrences of *så* after clauses of category N2, 2 after those of category N1a, and 2 after those of category N1b.

<sup>18</sup> 5 ed., Stockholm, 1909. In my copy of this book, pp. 17–32 are missing and are therefore not included in the computation.

<sup>19</sup> 5 ed., Stockholm, 1910.

<sup>20</sup> 14 ed., Stockholm, 1912.



*Julie*.<sup>21</sup> 1a, 60%; 1b, 86%; 2, 65%. *Fadren*.<sup>22</sup> 1a, 84%; 1b, 93%; 2, 39%.

While in the novels hitherto discussed we have encountered only moderate or slight or even no employment of resumptive *så* after clauses of category 2 in the narrative, we find it abundantly present in Vilhelm Moberg's *Sänkt sedebetyg*.<sup>23</sup> C1a, 4 occurrences with *så*, none without; C1b, 12 occurrences with *så*, none without; C2, 5 occurrences with *så*, none without—IP1a, 4 occurrences with *så*, none without; IP1b, 47 occurrences with *så*, none without; IP2, 85%—N1a, 4 occurrences with *så*, none without; N1b, 92%; N2, 56%. *Så* is here always used after clauses of category C2, and after those of category IP2 it is employed with exceeding liberality. It is also noteworthy that in this book *så* is always used after conditional clauses in conversation and in indirect presentation; and that in the narrative it is always (to be sure, only 4 occurrences) employed after conditional clauses without a conjunction, while after conditional clauses with a conjunction it is used 33 times and omitted only 3 times. *Sänkt sedebetyg* is divided into three parts. In "Mannen" (pp. 7-89), the rate of employment of *så* after non-conditional clauses in the narrative is 51%; in "Barnet" (pp. 93-287), which deals with home life, it is 63%; in "Ynglingen" (pp. 291-441), it is 46%.

In three books now to be analyzed the percentages for category N2 are approximately as low as we found them to be in Geijerstam's *Äklenskapets komedi* and in Selma Lagerlöf's *En herrgårdssögen* and *En saga om en saga och andra sagor*. Olle Hedberg's *Rymmare och fasttagare*.<sup>24</sup> C1a, 67%; C1b, 80%; C2, 33%—IP1a, 50%; IP1b, 70%; IP2, 80%—N1a, 57%; N1b, 60%; N2, 3.1%.<sup>25</sup> Margareta Suber's *Jonna*.<sup>26</sup> C1a, 75%; C1b, 77%; C2, 44%—IP1a, 80%; IP1b, no occurrence with *så*, 1 without; IP2, 4 occurrences with *så*, none without—N1a, 43%; N1b, 33%; N2, 1.6%. Eyvind Johnson's *Slutspel i ungdomen*.<sup>27</sup> C1a, 7 occurrences with *så*, none without; C1b, 79%; C2, 44%—IP1a,

<sup>21</sup> *Samlade dramatiska arbeten*. "Romantiska dramer," Vol. 2. Stockholm, 1903. <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>23</sup> 17 ed., Stockholm, 1939.

<sup>24</sup> Stockholm, 1930.

<sup>25</sup> In the narrative we nevertheless once encounter *förresten så*.

<sup>26</sup> Stockholm, 1940. <sup>27</sup> Stockholm, 1937.



77%; IP1b, 59%; IP2, 29%—N1a, 3 occurrences with *så*, none without; N1b, 27%; N2, 2%.<sup>28</sup>

In three other novels that were examined *så* is not once used after non-conditional clauses in the narrative, a situation which we have already met in Geijerstam's *Kampen om kärlek*. Dagmar Edqvist's *Osynliga stängsel*.<sup>29</sup> C1a, 33%; C1b, 23%; C2, 21%—IP1a, 40%; IP1b, 38%; IP2, no occurrence with *så*, 5 without—N1a, 50%; N1b, 33%; N2, no occurrence with *så*, 148 without. Marika Stiernstedt's *Spegling i en skärva*.<sup>30</sup> C1a, 36%; C1b, 60%; C2, 14%—IP1a, 11%; IP1b, no occurrence with *så*, 2 without; IP2, no occurrence with *så*, 3 without—N1a, 8%; N1b, no occurrence with or without *så*; N2, no occurrence with *så*, 151 without. There is here after clauses of category N1a only 1 occurrence of *så* to 12 omissions. Gertrud Lilja's *Byborna*.<sup>31</sup> C1a, 27%; C1b, 39%; C2, 28%—IP1a, no occurrence with *så*, 4 without; IP1b, 37%; IP2, 25%—N1a, no occurrence with *så*, 4 without; N1b, no occurrence with *så*, 18 without; N2, no occurrence with *så*, 136 without. Here, then, we find *så* nowhere in the narrative, not even after conditional clauses. It should further be observed that in the books of these three writers *så* occurs less often after conditional clauses in categories C and IP, and, except for *Osynliga stängsel*, also in category N, than is the case in the three discussed in the preceding paragraph.

In the previous article<sup>32</sup> it was stated (1) that the practice of the writers would seem to support Natanael Beckman's declaration, which places *så* when used after conditional clauses on a higher stylistic plane than when it is employed after other subordinate clauses, which latter use he assigns to "talspråket," and (2) that after conditional clauses *så* is indeed by them employed far more frequently than after non-conditional clauses. It was further asserted that such procedure does not in itself constitute proof, for the reason that authors are to some extent arbitrary with respect to what they will or will not admit into their writing.

An author's style cannot be wholly judged from one book. In the matter of *så*, for instance, we have seen Selma Lagerlöf in

<sup>28</sup> Notwithstanding the low figure for *så* after clauses of category N2, we find *så* employed 5 times in the narrative after *för resten*. <sup>29</sup> Stockholm, 1944.

<sup>30</sup> 5 ed., Stockholm, 1936.

<sup>31</sup> Stockholm, 1940.

<sup>32</sup> P. 231.

two books almost entirely avoid it after clauses of category N2 but in two others use it with moderate liberality, though unevenly, after such clauses. The reasons for such differences may be various, but the determining factor is generally the circumstance that the writer wishes to create a certain atmosphere or to make the language harmonize with the setting. The normal situation in belletristic works seems to be that *så* is employed not at all or very little after clauses of category N2 and little or only moderately after clauses of categories N1a and N1b unless a special effect is desired, as is the case in Moberg's *Sänkt sedebetyg* and, though in smaller part and in a different way, in Selma Lagerlöf's *Liljecronas hem* and *Charlotte Löwensköld*.

But if one were nevertheless to consider the one novel alone and judge the author therefrom, one would say that to Gertrud Lilja the employment of *så* in the narrative was altogether objectionable, and this, it would seem, could only have been based on what in her opinion is the true stylistic status of resumptive *så*: that she considered it to be equally a characteristic of the popular styles whether it follows a conditional clause or a non-conditional clause. (To be sure, belletristic writers do not necessarily avoid an expression just for the reason that it belongs to the popular styles.) The same comment could be made with regard to Marika Stiernstedt, who in *Spegling i en skärva* only once uses *så* after a conditional clause in the narrative, and that one time no doubt does so through the unconscious influence of her natural speech. To a lesser, yet pronounced, degree this would similarly appear to be the viewpoint of most writers who employ *så* practically not at all after clauses of category N2 and who, while they pretty generally prefer *så*, or at least use it abundantly, after clauses of categories C1a and C1b and IP1a and IP1b, employ it sparingly after those of categories N1a and N1b:<sup>33</sup> also to them the use of *så* after clauses of categories N1a and N1b is evidently not a clear-cut feature of formal style. They seem to borrow it into their writing just as they—belletrists

<sup>33</sup> Hedberg's *Rymmare och fastlagare* is an exception, and to some extent Margareta Suber's *Jonna*. Practically without exception for all the books examined, the extent of employment of *så* is smaller after clauses of categories N1a and N1b than after those of categories C1a, C1b, IP1a, and IP1b.

that they are—<sup>34</sup> borrow other features of the popular styles, but they do so by no means freely.<sup>35</sup>

Some of the writers, indeed, whose books show a very low, or no, percentage of employment of resumptive *så* after clauses of category 2 in the narrative have displayed a most generous attitude toward certain other usages which are definitely characteristic of the popular styles. For instance, Margareta Suber in *Jonna* employs regularly the negative *inte*, and she uses throughout her book the singular form of the verb with plural subject;<sup>36</sup> nevertheless she employs *så* only 5 times after non-conditional clauses in the narrative, failing to use it 306 times! Also Johnson in *Slutspel i ungdomen*, Gertrud Lilja in *Byborna*, and Dagmar Edqvist in *Osynliga stängsel*, notwithstanding the fact that they have liberalized the style of their narrative by means of these same features, employ *så* very little after clauses of category N2 (so Johnson) or not at all (so Gertrud Lilja and Dagmar Edqvist).<sup>37</sup> Others, such as Selma Lagerlöf in *En herrgårdssägen* and *En saga om en saga och andra sagor*, Marika Stiernstedt in *Spegling i en skärva*, and Hedberg in *Rymmare och fastlagare*, use in their narrative the negative *inte*, exclusively or largely, together with other features of the popular styles (though not the singular form of the verb with plural subject as do the four writers mentioned above), yet are exceedingly chary in their employment of *så* after non-conditional clauses (so Selma Lagerlöf and Hedberg) or wholly avoid it (so Marika Stiernstedt). It cannot be contended that the use of *så* after clauses of category N2 is not on so high a stylistic plane as is the employment of the negative *inte*

<sup>34</sup> Particularly for this and the following paragraph, cf. the second article mentioned in footnote 6.

<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, some writers, as we have seen, employ *så* very liberally after clauses of categories N1a and N1b, for example, Strindberg in *Röda rummet* and Moberg in *Sänkt sedebetyg*. But with these we also find *så* moderately (so with Strindberg) or very liberally (so with Moberg) represented after clauses of category N2.

<sup>36</sup> Only these two features of the popular styles are here emphasized; Margareta Suber and the other writers mentioned in this paragraph employ also others.

<sup>37</sup> Some of the writers examined who employ the negative *inte* and the singular form of the verb with plural subject employ *så* more liberally, for instance, Selma Lagerlöf in *Liljecronas hem* and especially Moberg in *Sänkt sedebetyg*.

and the use of the singular form of the verb with plural subject. The only difference between them is that while *inte* and the singular form of the verb are *always* employed in the popular styles, the resuming word *may* be, though it usually is not, omitted. Therefore the writers just mentioned, and others who do as they do, must be considered as being arbitrary in their differentiation, which, to be sure, as literary artists they have a right to be. We could thus say that we have to do with a literary conventionality.<sup>38</sup>

In passing now from belletristic works to those written in a more formal style, we shall first comment on one written indeed by a belletrist but intended for use as a textbook in schools, namely Verner von Heidenstam's *Svenskarna och deras hövdingar*.<sup>39</sup> Here we might well expect to see a freer manner of writing,<sup>40</sup> but instead we encounter conditions wholly comparable to those described for the books of Dagmar Edqvist, Marika Stiernstedt, and Getrud Lilja as well as for Geijerstam's *Kampen om kärlek*, namely low percentages or no occurrences for *så* in the narrative after conditional clauses (with partial exception for Dagmar Edqvist) and total absence after non-conditional clauses:<sup>41</sup> C1a,

<sup>38</sup> At least in the beginning the employment in narrative text of the singular form of the verb with plural subject was what can best be designated as a literary fashion.

<sup>39</sup> I have examined only Volume II. The full title is *Svenskarna och deras hövdingar, Berättelser för unga och gamla*, "Läseböcker för Sveriges barndomsskolor," utgivna av Alfr. Dalin och Fridtjuv Berg, Vol. III, Stockholm, 1910. The subtitle separates this book somewhat from the class of pure textbook. I have examined two of von Heidenstam's other books, but too late to include them in the body of the article. *Heliga Birgittas pilgrimsfärd* (4 ed., Stockholm, 1912; in *Samlade skrifter av Verner von Heidenstam*): C1a, 33%; C1b, 57%; C2, 1.9%—IP, no occurrence with or without *så*—N1a, no occurrence with *så*, 5 without; N1b, no occurrence with or without *så*; N2, no occurrence with *så*, 141 without. *Folkungaträdet—Folke Filbyter* (3 ed., Stockholm, 1908): C1a, 28%; C1b, 8%; C2, 4%—IP1a, no occurrence with or without *så*; IP1b, no occurrence with or without *så*; IP2, no occurrence with *så*, 3 without—N1a, no occurrence with *så*, 3 without; N1b, no occurrence with or without *så*; N2, no occurrence with *så*, 144 without.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. the use of *så* in the school grammars of Sundén and (especially) Beckman, mentioned below.

<sup>41</sup> In Selma Lagerlöf's *Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige*, Förkortad och omarbetad upplaga, "Läseböcker för Sveriges barndomsskolor," Vol. I, Stockholm, 1931, there is in the narrative (I have examined this book only in

20%; C1b, 60%; C2, 7%—IP1a, no occurrence with *så*, 1 without; IP1b, 1 occurrence with *så*, none without; IP2, no occurrence with or without *så*—N1a, 2.9%; N1b, no occurrence with *så*, 2 without; N2, no occurrence with *så*, 284 without. The 2.9% for N1a represents 1 occurrence to 33 omissions.

In works written in the severe style resumptive *så* is employed not at all or very sparsely. Thus in *Svensk konst och svensk natur*<sup>42</sup> by Oscar Levertin (who was also a belletristic writer), it is wholly absent: 1a, no occurrence with *så*, 28 without; 1b, no occurrence with *så*, 12 without; 2, no occurrence with *så*, 64 without. (Here and in the books that remain to be discussed the entire text is of necessity narrative.) In Levertin's *Svensk Litteratur*<sup>43</sup> we encounter the same condition in Volume II and well-nigh the same condition in Volume I. Volume I: 1a, 6%; 1b, no occurrence with *så*, 35 without; 2, no occurrence with *så*, 161 without. The 6% in category 1a represents 2 occurrences with *så* to 31 without. Volume II: 1a, no occurrence with *så*, 18 without; 1b, no occurrence with *så*, 30 without; 2, no occurrence with *så*, 60 without.<sup>44</sup> In Volume V of Henrik Schück and Karl Warburg's *Illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria*<sup>45</sup> the extent of the use of *så* is not quite so minimal: 1a, 17%; 1b, 14%; 2, .9%.<sup>46</sup>

We turn now to textbooks, of which one, von Heidenstam's *Svenskarna och deras hövdingar*, has already been commented upon. In Richard Steffen's *Svensk litteraturhistoria för den högre elementarundervisningen*<sup>47</sup> we find moderate employment of *så*: 1a, 60%; 1b, 2 occurrences with *så*, none without; 2, 6%. Here, as in other textbooks treated below, *så* is more liberally represented than in the narrative of various of the belletristic works

part) about 3% of employment of *så* after non-conditional clauses. This book is also largely read outside of the schools.

<sup>42</sup> *Samlade skrifter av Oscar Levertin*, Vol. XIX, Stockholm, 1910.

<sup>43</sup> Vol. I: *Samlade skrifter av Oscar Levertin*, Vol. XIII, Stockholm, 1908; Vol. II: *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, Stockholm, 1909.

<sup>44</sup> Notwithstanding Levertin's stern attitude toward the use of resumptive *så*, we find it employed once after a phrase: *Men fränsett dessa anmärkningar så ges det i Jaktslottet en mängd vackra saker.*

<sup>45</sup> Tredje, fullständigt omarbetade upplagan, utgiven av Henrik Schück, Stockholm, 1929.

<sup>46</sup> Schück once uses *så* after a phrase: *Hellre än att låna så svallt han.*

<sup>47</sup> 2 ed., Stockholm, 1907.

that have been analyzed. But not so in Gideon Danell's *Svensk språklära*.<sup>48</sup> Here there is only one occurrence, namely after a non-conditional clause, but this is apparently in fact, though not demonstrably in form, quoted from another writer.<sup>49</sup> For Danell, disregarding the occurrence mentioned, we have these figures: 1a, no occurrence with *så*, 12 without; 1b, no occurrence with *så*, 4 without; 2, no occurrence with *så*, 46 without. D. A. Sundén, in *Svensk språklära i sammandrag för högre allmänna läroverk, kommunala mellanskolor m. fl.*,<sup>50</sup> on the contrary, shows moderate use of resumptive *så*: 1a, 3.4%; 1b, 11%; 2, 8%.<sup>51</sup> Natanael Beckman's *Svensk språklära för den högre elementarundervisningen*<sup>52</sup> uses *så* liberally after conditional clauses and moderately after non-conditional clauses (cf. the statement by him referred to above): 1a, 85%; 1b, 67%; 2, 15%. It shall not be asserted that these textbook writers have consciously favored *så*, but it is evident that in writing they have felt a little as though they were speaking to their readers, somewhat as to persons in a classroom, and that this circumstance has disposed them to adapt their style in some measure toward that appropriate to this situation. Most of all in Beckman's book, with its free and easy manner of expression, this attitude is evidenced in many ways.

But in one kind of non-belletristic writing *så* has been freely accepted, namely in books on technical subjects which are designed to interest the specialist, indeed, but at the same time to appeal to the non-specialized or non-academic reader—'populärvetenskapliga skrifter.' These are usually composed in a form of style rendered less rigid than is the severe style, in part through the employment of various devices and usages borrowed from the popular styles.<sup>53</sup> The several books of this kind that I have examined employ *så* after conditional clauses about as freely as do those belletristic writers who use it most (whether in C, IP, or N), and they employ it after non-conditional clauses to an extent which is to be sure unlike for the different writers but

<sup>48</sup> 2 ed., Lund, 1932.

<sup>49</sup> P. 58, footnote.

<sup>50</sup> 29 ed., Stockholm, 1937.

<sup>51</sup> Sundén once employs *så* after a phrase introduced by *beträffande*.

<sup>52</sup> 8 ed., Stockholm, 1935.

<sup>53</sup> Gustav Cederschiöld, in *Om svenskan som skriftspråk*<sup>5</sup> (Lund, 1924), p. 230, says: "Populär-vetenskapliga arbeten, särskilt historiska . . . pläga ju för övrigt ofta närma sig den vittra prosan."

which is in general greater, indeed far greater, than obtains in the narrative of those belletristic works in which we have found the use of *så* to rank highest, except for Moberg's *Sänkt sedebetyg*, the narrative percentages of which, however, two of the books presently to be considered approach and one surpasses. We shall first call attention to Gustav Cederschiöld's *Om svenskan som skriftspråk*,<sup>64</sup> which employs *så* as follows: 1a, 78%; 1b, 71%; 2, 26%. In Sverker Ek's *Den svenska folkvisan*<sup>65</sup> we encounter in the first chapter a considerably greater degree of employment of *så* after non-conditional clauses than in Cederschiöld's book, but with reference to its use after such clauses one could be tempted to think that the writer started out with the intention of 'popularizing' his style in part through the employment of this feature of the popular styles (he uses here and there also some others),<sup>66</sup> yet that as the writing progressed he, engrossed in his subject, more and more forgot this intention. For in each succeeding chapter he employs *så* less after such clauses, reaching zero in the fifth, but concluding the book with the next chapter with a fair number of *så*'s. We find, then, in the six chapters the following situation with reference to category 2: 37%; 21%; 12.5%; 5.4%; no occurrence with *så*, 29 without; 17%. Considering the book as a whole we get: 1a, 48%; 1b, 40%; 2, 12%. In Adolf Noreen's *Spridda studier, Populärvetenskapliga uppsatser*,<sup>67</sup> the use of *så* is much more pronounced than in *Om svenskan som skriftspråk*, namely: 1a, 87%; 1b, 90%; 2, 54%.<sup>68</sup> In *Spridda studier, Andra samlingen, Populära uppsatser*,<sup>69</sup> the situation is similar: 1a, 86%; 1b, 71%; 2, 52.5%. In connection with these 'populärvetenskapliga skrifter' attention shall now be given to

<sup>64</sup> See the preceding footnote. In the preface to Cederschiöld's book we read: "Denna bok överensstämmer till allra största delen ordagrant med de offentliga föreläsningar i ämnet, som jag vårterminen 1895 höll å Göteborgs högskola." Owing to its having this origin, this book is composed in a more personal style than is any of those treated below; this is mainly accomplished through the employment of devices for arousing interest and maintaining attention which are used by public speakers.

<sup>65</sup> Vol. 29 in the series "Natur och Kultur," Uddevalla, 1924.

<sup>66</sup> For example, *ju . . . ju* beside *ju . . . dess* (or, *desto*).

<sup>67</sup> Stockholm, 1895.

<sup>68</sup> In this volume we also find *så* employed after two phrases of the type *för att*+infinitive and after several other adverbial phrases.

<sup>69</sup> Stockholm, 1903.



two works in which the emphasis is primarily technical but which are also designed to be of value to the general public. One of these is Erik Wellander's *Riktig svenska, En handledning i svenska språkets vård*,<sup>60</sup> primarily a book for reference, in the preface of which we read: "År 1924 fick jag av Svenska Akademien uppdrag att 'till skolornas och allmänhetens tjänst utarbete en handledning i svenska språkets vård.'" In this book we find moderate use of *så* (cf. the figures for Beckman's grammar, above): 1a, 62%; 1b, 52%; 2, 13%. The other is Noreen's *Vårt språk, Nysvensk grammatik i utförlig framställning*, of which Volume V<sup>61</sup> has been examined. In this the employment of resumptive *så* after non-conditional clauses is greater than we have found it for category N in any book analyzed in the preparation of this article. The complete figures are: 1a, 77%; 1b, 89%; 2, 61%.<sup>62</sup> In *Vårt språk* Noreen wrote in a rigidly formal style, employing the frequently stolid words and usages, constructions and sentence build of the severe style, as is to be expected in a technical work which owing to its content is far from light reading even for the specialist. But Noreen desired also to appeal to the wider circle of readers who are eager to learn more about "vårt språk." In the publisher's announcement<sup>63</sup> it is stated: "Framställningen skall utan att i någon mån förbise det vetenskapliga innehållets krav på exakthet och grundlighet söka bli på samma gång i god mening populär och så pedagogisk som möjligt, det förre för att göra boken ägnad till självstudium, det sednare för att göra den användbar såsom lärobok för högre vetenskapliga studier, särskilt vid våra universiteter." It is understandable, then, that he should have wished in some way to attract those for whom the reading of the book is not an *ex officio* necessity and also those who have to learn it as a lesson (cf. the discussion of textbooks, above) by placing himself somewhat on the natural language level of persons who, although constant readers of matter written in the severe style (in newspapers and elsewhere), might well find this form of style heavy and repellent upon encountering it in a field unfamiliar to them as a technical subject. It is evident that it is *så* which is here by Noreen given the task of producing the "ledig" effect he wanted—I have observed

<sup>60</sup> 2 ed., Stockholm, 1941.

<sup>61</sup> Lund, 1904.

<sup>62</sup> I have in this volume also noted *så* once used after an adverbial phrase.

<sup>63</sup> P. 4 of the covers.



in *Vårt språk* no other usages or devices conducive toward this end. Resumptive *så* provides just the desired popular tone. The very quality that makes most writers of other types of books shun it or employ it with moderation, this quality made it usable and useful to him as, in lesser degree, to other writers of works intended for reading not alone by the scholar but by the general seeker after knowledge as well. To other kinds of writers of the severe style, resumptive *så* is unnecessary and employed but little or not at all, because it provides no meaning which needs to be expressed or which cannot be expressed in a more formal way. To the writers of belles-lettres *så* often has value,<sup>64</sup> yet is but one of many devices serviceable in the production of their works of art. But to these writers of 'populärvetenskapliga skrifter,' and to Noreen more than to any of the others analyzed for this study—as evidenced both in *Spridda Studier* and in *Vårt språk*—resumptive *så*, which is basically in all its uses a feature of the popular styles, has become a symbol of language naturalness which brings the writers somehow closer to their readers. It is interesting to reflect on the circumstance that four belletristic authors discussed above use throughout their books the negative *inte* and the singular form of the verb with plural subject, which are characteristics of the popular styles, but nevertheless employ *så*, which is equally a feature of these styles, not at all or practically not at all in category 2 of their narrative, while the non-belletristic writers whom we have now been considering use *icke* (sometimes *ej*)<sup>65</sup> and the plural form of the verb with plural subject, usages which pertain to the severe style, yet employ resumptive *så* liberally.

There shall be presented here in summary form a few observations with reference to conditional clauses. For the books that have been examined in the preparation of this article, the extent of omission of the conjunction is in belletristic works 34%, or, in detail: C, 34%; IP, 28%; N, 40%. For non-belletristic works it is almost twice as great: severe style, 60%; 'populärvetenskapliga skrifter,' 69%. With regard, now, to the extent of use of *så*, we get the following figures for belletristic works: C1a, 68%; C1b,

<sup>64</sup> Cf. the previous article, p. 232.

<sup>65</sup> Ek sometimes employs *inte*; cf. footnote 56. I am not wholly certain that Cederschiöld and Wellander absolutely never employ *inte*, but my impression is that they always use *icke* (*ej*).

62%—IP1a, 56%; IP1b, 63%—N1a, 38%; N1b, 42%. In the case of the severe style we encounter very low figures: 1a, 7%; 1b, 6%. For 'populärvetenskapliga skrifter,' on the other hand, the figures exceed even those for conversation and indirect presentation in belletristic works: 1a, 69%; 1b, 64% (were only the books of Cederschiöld and Noreen considered, the figures would be: 1a, 80%; 1b, 82%). In the computation for the extent of employment of *så* in the severe style, Beckman's *Svensk språklära* was not included; the figures for this book show that as far as this style trait is concerned it belongs with the 'populärvetenskapliga skrifter':<sup>66</sup> 1a, 85%; 1b, 67%.

It has been seen that in the narrative most writers consider *så* to be more usable after conditional clauses than after non-conditional clauses, which, however, as has been asserted, does not in itself prove that its employment in the former case is on a higher stylistic plane. And it could be contended that in the practice resulting from this distinction there is operative something of literary conventionality, widespread to be sure; just as in the case of some writers—liberal though they are in regard to the admission of certain other usages—the practice of entirely or almost entirely avoiding the employment of *så* after clauses of categories N1a and N1b as well as after those of category N2, or at least after those of the category last named, is patently a conventionality of more limited acceptance. For it cannot be overlooked that especially Gertrud Lilja and Marika Stiernstedt (notwithstanding the one instance of *så* after a clause of category N1a) treat *så* as being equally unusable after conditional and non-conditional clauses.

When resumptive *så* is sparingly used in non-belletristic writing or in the narrative of belletristic writing, the occurrence or occurrences are, it would seem, not intentional, but purely accidental:<sup>67</sup> the natural speech of the writer has asserted itself, and a *så* has slipped in unnoticed.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. the last sentence of the paragraph discussing textbooks, above.

<sup>67</sup> This applies not only to scattered occurrences of *så* after clauses but also to such after adverbs and adverbial phrases, as in the case of the one instance in a volume of 650 large-sized pages, with much fine print, when Schück used *så* after an adverbial phrase, writing *Hellre än att låna så svält han*. Cf. footnote 46. Similarly, the example of *så* following an adverbial phrase which is cited in footnote 44 is the only occurrence of this usage in the two volumes (520+250 pages) of Levérin's *Svensk litteratur*.

## GUSTAVUS VASA AGAIN

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RECENT scholarship has shown that one of the more fruitful areas for comparative literature study is the influence of Scandinavia on English and American culture. Notable contributions have been made in this field by Miss Ethel Seaton of Oxford and Professor Adolph Benson of Yale. This paper, an extended footnote to Dr. Benson's recent article "Gustavus Vasa on the Foreign Stage,"<sup>1</sup> deals with an interesting item not caught up in his scholarly dragnet, William Abbott's two act melodrama *Swedish Patriotism*, which for more than thirty years maintained its popularity in Great Britain and America.

Born at Chelsea in 1789, Abbott led a vicissitudinous life both on and off the stage. In 1806, he made his first public appearance as an actor at the Bath Theatre, where an early flair for melodrama secured for him dozens of "characters of a second-rate description," which he is said to have played "very respectably."<sup>2</sup> In the autumn of 1813, however, he accepted an offer from Covent Garden and soon became a mainstay of the company, playing with such celebrities as Terry, Foote, the Kembles, and Macready. When his style of acting was no longer in vogue at home, Abbott ventured his luck in America, starting at the Park Theatre in New York, September 28, 1835. Eight years later he was stricken with apoplexy while playing opposite Booth in *The Apostate*. According to Placide, many in the audience thought his stroke was but part of the play! He died at 4:00 P.M. on Thursday, June 1, 1843. This compliment appeared in one of his obituary notices: "He was a good actor of the old school, a delightful companion, and always, whether on or off the stage, a polished gentleman."<sup>3</sup>

Abbott was more than an actor and manager. Twice he tried

<sup>1</sup> *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 18 (1944), pp. 115-119. Additional material may be found in his "Colonial Americans Applauded Gustavus Vasa," *The American Swedish Monthly*, Vol. 36 (August, 1942), pp. 13 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Biography of the British Stage* (London, 1824), p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *The True Sun*, June 2, 1843.

a hand at play-writing; and although neither result produced a hit, his second attempt did win considerable popularity, one peevish account to the contrary:

He has appeared before the public also as an Author. On the 2d of October, 1817, he produced a melodrama, translated from the French, entitled "*The Youthful Days of Frederick the Great*"; and on [the] 19th of May, 1819, another melodrama from the same source, with the formidable title of "*Swedish Patriotism, or the Signal Fire*." Both pieces were lamentably dull and tedious, and have reached oblivion long ago. But,—

"We scorn his dull effusions to deride,  
Nor will we shew what want of wit has marr'd,  
Oblivion's veil his melodramas shall hide,  
And shroud in Night the actor and the bard."<sup>4</sup>

The plot of *Swedish Patriotism*, "on the whole . . . not a bad piece, [though] some of the incidents are unnatural,"<sup>5</sup> is based on the Gotland Insurrection.

At the outset of the play Colonel Walstein, who for years has suffered with Gustavus Vasa, "the companion of his exile and misfortunes," awaits the promised assistance of "our faithful Finlanders" and the Swedish squadron. Once the anticipated reserves arrive, he is to fire the farmhouse at Sterwick, which will call all Gotland Swedes to revolt against the Danish garrison at Westby. The Danish admiral, Norby, however, blockades the Swedish fleet, thus making possible a Danish invasion under Walstein's traitorous brother, Count Cronstadt, who has apparently forgotten "the massacre of Stockholm [and] that Christian, the hated tyrant, is stained with the blood of our noble father." Walstein takes refuge in the farmhouse only to discover there "my dear, dear child," from whom he has been separated for fifteen years. Ulrica is about to be married to Captain Albert, a loyal Swede who has been temporizing with the Danes.

The capture of Walstein, after a perilous dash for freedom, brings Albert, who has "sworn to deserve the mercy of Gustavus; to restore to him his Hero," back to the fold. Cronstadt is also overcome by Walstein's courage in the face of a firing squad. "The laws of nature shall not be broken by the madness of party—for I am still your brother." At this climax Walstein sees the

<sup>4</sup> *Biography of the British Stage*, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> John Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage* (Bath, 1832), Vol. IX, p. 4.

distant flames of the farm house and cries to his captors, "They come! Listen, soldiers! In the name of Gustavus, I promise pardon to all who surrender to me! The Swedish force from Calmar has landed, and in an instant, victory must declare for Sweden." Amid explosions, flames, and "shouts of Victory!!!" the curtain falls.

The immediate source of this plot has so far eluded a careful search. One early review called the play "a translation from the French, by Mr. Abbott, the performer."<sup>6</sup> And indeed it may well be, for several passages sound more like a translation than an original. Scandinavian subjects were common among French melodramas of this period.<sup>7</sup> Then too, Abbott's only other piece is closely adapted from a French original, *La Jeunesse du grand Frédéric* (Boirie and Lemaire). Yet an examination of scores of such plays as well as the titles and descriptions of all the melodramas written by thirty-eight representative authors has consistently failed to produce anything which, on further investigation, was not a disappointment. For this paper, however, the question of sources is not momentous, since few critics recognized *Swedish Patriotism* as a translation. In fact, I have seen only one review that elaborated upon this relationship:

The merits or demerits of this piece are little imputable to the translator. . . . It is one of the ordinary kind of French Melodrames, and it possesses no peculiar claim to approbation. In point of fact, it is lamentably dull and tedious; the incidents are of the most hacknied description, and are unrelieved by any trait of character, or brilliancy of dialogue. We have, indeed, seldom seen a worse piece of the sort, and are sorry that Mr. Abbott should not have employed his pen on something more worthy of his time. A battle in the first act, a conflagration and bombardment in the second, constituted its principal claims to the attention of the audience, and these, aided by the good natured efforts of the performers, who had none of them much to do beyond coming on and going off, have enabled it to drag on a wearisome existence of six nights.<sup>8</sup>

Contrary to the impression given in this notice, Abbott's drama had an auspicious beginning. For eight days the play bills

<sup>6</sup> *Theatrical Inquisitor*, Vol. 14 (1819), p. 394.

<sup>7</sup> For example: *La Bataille de Pultawa* (Frédéric and Boirie), *La Suédoise* (Ducange), *La Fille Hussard ou le Sergent Suédois* (Cuvelier), *Gustave Adolphe* (Arnault), *Gustave en Dalécarlie, ou les Mineurs Suédois* (Lamartelière), *Gustave Wasa* (Blache), *Serfs de la Scandinavie* (La Roche).

<sup>8</sup> *Theatrical Inquisitor*, Vol. 14 (1819), p. 395.

at Covent Garden heralded the "new Melo-Drama called *Swedish Patriotism; or, The Signal Fire*." Then on Wednesday, May 19, 1819, came the première to a full house.<sup>9</sup> An overture and incidental music were supplied by Henry Bishop, of whom more later; scenic effects were by "Mr. Grieve, and Sons. The Machinery by Mr. Saul. The Dresses by Mr. Palmer and Miss Egan." A lion's share of the credit went, very properly, to the actors, Miss Foote displaying "considerable feeling and pathos" while Terry, "the merville of the melodrama," reminded the critic of *The Theatre* "in many instances" of Mr. John Kemble. On the second night the public was informed that "The New Melo-Drama of *Swedish Patriotism; or, the Signal Fire*, having been received throughout with the highest approbation and applause, will be repeated every evening." Subsequent performances were given on the 21st, 22nd, 24th, and 26th. One was announced for Friday the 28th, but that evening brought an entirely new program "by request."

Judged by the reviews, the play was "extremely well received."<sup>10</sup> One critic decided that if *Swedish Patriotism* was not heavy tragedy, "it was an amusing Melo-drama; if there was not quite so much slaughter as in its defunct predecessor [*Fredolfo*] there was much more smoke, and if blazes could make it brilliant, the Melo-drama had ten times the fire of the Tragedy."<sup>11</sup> On Saturday, the *Literary Gazette* summarized the action as containing "a great deal of love, much scenery, and some shooting," and called it "spirited and picturesque." Evidently Mr. Saul's "machinery" and the scenic designs of the Messrs. Grieve were extraordinary; for even the dour *Theatre*, which found the play "intricate without interest" and prophesied that Abbott's piece would "do him but little credit," grudgingly admitted that "to the beauty of the scenery may be attributed the partial success of the piece [whose] chief merit [is] pageantry and pleasing scenery."<sup>12</sup> The *Chronicle's* reviewer was warmer:

<sup>9</sup> *The London Chronicle* (May 20, 1819), p. 482.

<sup>10</sup> *London Literary Gazette* (May 22, 1819), p. 334.

<sup>11</sup> *The London Chronicle*, p. 482.

<sup>12</sup> *The Theatre; or, Dramatic and Literary Mirror*, Vol. 1 (May 29, 1819); pp. 185-186.

The scenery is profuse, though it chiefly represents the heavy and hideous wooden houses of the North. The Melo-Drama was concluded with an explosion. The stage was fearfully covered with burning rafters, and if a proof of the incombustibility of the Theatre was required, we know no repugnance that could stand against the anti-igneous evidence of last night.

The *Literary Gazette* was still more impressed by the stage business: "The scenery was characteristic of the country, and very clever; and the final explosion was so brilliant as to seem to our terrors an extension of the fire from the stage to the theatre."

Concerning the music, on the other hand, there was no such critical accord. The *Gazette* estimated that Bishop's music had a large share in the popularity of the play; the sensitive *Chronicle*, contrariwise, complained that it was altogether heavy. "We heard no solo, no singer was introduced, and the glory of the Muse of song was thus handed over to the rough nutrition of the persons who perpetrate harmony so unrelentingly in the chorus."

Henry Rowley Bishop (1786-1855) wrote the first of a flood of operatic works in 1804. A biographer has mourned that his "wonderful wealth of melody" was, for the most part, "frittered away" in the King's Theatre, Drury Lane, and at Covent Garden, "where he continued to produce in rapid succession a series of original compositions and compilations, which, though often of the slightest quality, must have kept him too fully occupied to devote himself seriously to the cultivation of his undoubted talent."<sup>13</sup> Some idea of the speed with which he turned out tunes can be gained from this incomplete list from the spring of 1819: *Marriage of Figaro* (freely adapted from Mozart) for March 6; *Fortunatus and His Sons* for April 12; *The Heart of Midlothian* for April 17; *A Roland for an Oliver* for April 29; *Swedish Patriotism* for May 19. Partially as a reward for his services as professor of harmony and composition at the Royal Academy of Music and at Edinburgh, where he held the Reid Professorship, Bishop was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1842, "this being the first occasion on which a musician had been so honoured."<sup>14</sup> In a frank piece of self-criticism, he had summarized his career two years previously:

<sup>13</sup> William B. Squire, "Henry Bishop," *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1921-1922), Vol. II, p. 553.

<sup>14</sup> Squire, p. 555.



I have worked hard, and during many a long year, for fame and have had many difficulties to encounter in obtaining that portion of it which I am proud to know I possess. I have been a slavish servant to the public; and too often, when I have turned each way their weathercock taste pointed, they have turned round on me and upbraided me for not remaining where I was! . . . Had the Public remained truly and loyally English, I would have remained so too! But I had my bread to get and was obliged to watch their caprices, and give them an exotic fragrance if I could not give them the plant, when I found they were tired of, and neglecting the native production.<sup>15</sup>

From the journals quoted above it is apparent that the music for *Swedish Patriotism* fell victim to "weathercock taste" and, like most of Henry Bishop's theatrical music, failed to survive the season which saw its production.

Popular acclaim hastened the play through the press. The bills for Monday, May 24, advertised that the "Melo Drama is published & may be had in the Theatre, & of Mr. Miller, Burlington Arcade, Piccadilly." The price was the usual two shillings. Abbott's dedication, omitted in the American edition,<sup>16</sup> read:

To the most noble the Marquis of Worcester, a warm and liberal patron of the drama, this piece is inscribed, with every sentiment of respect, by his lordship's obliged and obedient servant, William Abbott.

Once printed, the melodrama soon went on tour. Before its American popularity is discussed, however, one more performance in Great Britain must be mentioned.

On Thursday, February 20, 1823, "*The Signal Fire! or Swedish Patriotism*" was first offered at the Theatre-Royal in Edinburgh. A writer in the *Edinburgh Dramatic Review* was somewhat puzzled by the tardy appearance of the play in Scotland. "It is seldom that *Mr. Murray* is dilatory in bringing forward successful new pieces." Yet as he analyzed the situation, he hit upon the secret of the play's prolonged popularity:

His motive for acting this piece at this particular period we are at a loss to guess. In the announcements at the bottom of the bills for the last week, it has been entitled, *The Patriots; or, the Signal Fire*. We doubt not but this title was chosen solely in consequence of the great political events which now agitate Europe; if indeed this was the case, why was [the title] altered?<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> From the letter now in the British Museum, *Egerton*, 2159.

<sup>16</sup> "Published at the Circulating Library and Dramatic Repository, No. 4 Chamber-Street. E. M. Murden, print. 1823."

<sup>17</sup> Friday, February 21, 1823.



"The great political events," of course, were the French restoration to absolute power of Ferdinand, king of Spain, the suppression of the Liberal movement in Italy, the Graeco-Turkish war for liberation, and the long-brewing French domestic unrest. Obviously, patriotic appeal and the defeat of tyrants was a theme as dear to the liberty-loving Scots as it was to the young American republic. Abbott's play gave full reign to this emotion and enjoyed therefrom a corresponding success.

Thus one is not surprised to find that *Swedish Patriotism* opened in New York at the Park Theatre on December 1, 1819, only six months after its London première. Maywood, as General Walstein, "had the lead and all of the danger to win through."<sup>18</sup> Other members of the cast of this "long-popular drama" were Simpson as Albert, Barnes as Walter, Woodhull as the Danish Count Cronstadt, and Miss Johnson as the fair Ulrica.<sup>19</sup> To give a detailed chronicle of this play in America would be to attach to it more importance than it warrants. A few notes on a half dozen typical performances and the accompanying circumstances will serve to prove the widespread appeal of this stirring melodrama about Sweden's renaissance liberation.

At least three separate presentations were offered to New York theatergoers in 1824, the first at the Park Theatre on January 27 as afterplay to a version of Scott's *Rob Roy*, and another on Saturday, December 25, at the New York Theatre, when in order to attract a holiday crowd the management outdid itself. The main feature was Lillo's domestic tragedy *George Barnwell*. Following this came the first special attraction, Mrs. De Luce's rendition of "the favourite Song of 'Gin a Body,' and 'Huzza! for Columbia!' by Mr. Richings." After this outburst of national feeling, the audience was treated to *Swedish Patriotism*. Not satisfied with *its* conflagration, however, the manager hired Mr. Barnes to sing the comic song, "Barney, leave the Girls Alone." The final curtain was rung down by "The Serious Pantomime of OBI; or, Three Fingered Jack."<sup>20</sup> Billy Rose's potpour-

<sup>18</sup> George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York, 1927-1942), Vol. II, p. 555.

<sup>19</sup> Joseph N. Ireland, *Records of the New York Stage* (New York, 1866). Vol. I, p. 359.

<sup>20</sup> *The Albion*, Saturday, December 25, 1824.

ris have nothing on a bill like this! Three days later the melodrama was repeated at the Park, this time with Shakespeare's *Henry IV*. "The afterpiece," said Odell, "was *Swedish Patriotism or, the Signal Fire*, then revived with some success, with Lee as Walstein, Clarke as Albert, Placide as Walter, and Mrs. Bancker as Ulrica."<sup>21</sup> Placide's acting copy of the play, filled with his markings and notes, is now in the Harvard College Library.

In 1825, Abbott's melodrama was introduced to Boston. Its trial performance, as afterpiece to "The Extravaganza Burletta, of Fun, Frolic, Flash, and Fashion, called Tom and Jerry; or Life in London," was heralded by the *Boston Commercial Gazette* in a build-up reminiscent of Hollywood:

Act 1. Scene I. a ROCKY SHORE, on the Island of Gothland, with Cave. Open Sea, dark and tempestuous; with flashes of lightning. Scene II. Rocky Pass. Scene III. FARM OF STERWICK—an explosion takes place!—the Buildings immediately are in full blaze!—in the background, a distant VIEW OF THE FORT OF WESTBY. The Ships in the harbor are illuminated by the Fire! making a strong contrast with the light of the Moon!

The Swedes and Peasantry drive the Danes before them! Walstein comes forward amid shouts of VICTORY!

The play must have lived up to expectations, for it was repeated on March 4, when Bostonians brought out their all to celebrate the Presidential Inauguration of John Quincy Adams. Some idea of the festivities can be gleaned from the fact that on Mt. Watchuset, renamed Mt. Adams, there was a colossal bonfire "of from 40 to 50 cords of wood, with other combustibles . . . although the snow is in some places 6 or 7 feet deep." The Harvard buildings were illuminated as were the New England Museum and the Lafayette Hotel. Faneuil Hall, decorated with appropriate busts, portraits and other historical monuments, housed a public banquet for more than 500 guests who pledged one another in some thirty-five successive toasts in honor of the occasion. Pleased with the city's efforts, the *Columbian Centinel* remarked that "the best feelings prevailed, and nothing occurred to mar the general harmony."

The Federal Street Theatre contributed its share to the triumph. Thomas A. Cooper, famous for his interpretations of such

<sup>21</sup> *Annals*, Vol. III, p. 145.

patriots as Caius Gracchus, Brutus, Coriolanus and Virginius, was in town offering eight nights of "intellectual entertainment of a high order." For the holiday he dusted off his perennial favorite, *Damon and Pythias*, and coupled it with the recently introduced hit, *Swedish Patriotism*. The spectacular climax of the evening was "a brilliant representation of the Temple of Liberty! Decorated with American Flags" in the center of which was "a Transparency, on which is seen, March 4th, 1825, J. Q. Adams, President of the U. S."<sup>22</sup> Unhappily, the press did not cover this extraordinary performance. Speaking of Cooper's engagement as a whole, however, the *Centinel* remarked that "brilliant and fashionable houses" indicated by their approbation not only that "the drama has not lost its intrinsic attraction; but that the company is a good one. . . . The business of the stage is conducted with admirable order; the Representations judiciously selected, and the orchestra is full of high professional merit."<sup>23</sup> One further testimonial to the popularity of such dramas as those featured by Cooper is supplied by the *Courier*, which calls one of them (Alasco) "a piece, which by its elevated, patriotic sentiment, strongly recommends itself to the feelings of a republican audience." Such a statement is a reminder that the war for the freedom of the seas was only ten years behind and that national enthusiasm still ran high.

Eighteen years later, however, when freedom's dawn had become full morning, *Swedish Patriotism* could still be relied upon to attract large audiences. The Bowery Theatre ran a summer session in 1842. To offset hot weather lassitude, it engaged "at an enormous expense" Le Monstre Paul, "whose physical powers are unprecedented and whose Herculean feats of strength have been the wonder of all Europe."<sup>24</sup> This superman opened on the fourth of July; twenty days later he announced his benefit, at which he might be said to have out-Monstred the Monstre. His advertisements boasted that "4 of the strongest and largest horses have been procured and will test their strength against him." To accompany this exhibition, *Swedish Patriotism* was

<sup>22</sup> *The Palladium*, March 4, 1825.

<sup>23</sup> March 12, 1825.

<sup>24</sup> Odell, *Annals*, Vol. IV, p. 557.

pulled out and James M. Scott cast in the rôle of Walstein. In discussing Scott, Odell comments that "much old-fashioned stuff re-appeared" under his aegis.<sup>25</sup> That the recipe worked, however, is clear from this note in *The Albion*, Saturday, July 23: "It must be something wonderful, for what, short of a wonder would carry numbers to the theatre at this time of the year?"

Two summers previously, Abbott's play had run successfully at the Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia under the abbreviated title, "*Patriotism, or the Signal Fire*." On July 4, 1840, it was offered as the holiday afterpiece to the *Dying Gift*; on July 10, it was the main attraction, *Two Greens* being the second item. Philadelphia's theatergoers, moreover, were still supporting Abbott's melodrama eleven years later; for on December 24, 1851, it reappeared as afterpiece to *Your Life's in Danger*; on Christmas day it followed *Extremes*, and on the 26th and 27th it filled out the bill with *Pauline*. While enthusiastic audiences in the Walnut Street Theatre were applauding *Swedish Patriotism*, others at the Chestnut Street were clapping for the double bill of *Hamlet* and *Jenny Lind*.<sup>26</sup> But that must be another story.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 558.

<sup>26</sup> Arthur H. Wilson, *A History of the Philadelphia Theatre* (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 454.

## FOUR UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF GEORG BRANDES

FERNAND BALDENSPERGER  
*University of California, Los Angeles*

AN OBITUARY in the *Revue de Littérature comparée* (Vol. VII [1927], p. 368) and a few pages in my book of recollections (*Une Vie parmi d'autres*, Paris, 1940. Pp. 133-136, 271) show under what conditions I became acquainted with one of the leading men of Scandinavia. Even those most adverse to Georg Brandes from the viewpoint of politics or of ideology could not minimize his cosmopolitan outlook, his devotion to Danish and Norwegian letters, and his constant effort to establish a closer connection between Scandinavia in general and the world of literature and art at large.

Some views on that very subject—not without the acidity Brandes often added to his opinions—are expressed in a letter to the “secrétaire de rédaction” of the short-lived periodical *Cosmopolis*, who (under the American editor Ortmans) was, for the time, my friend André Lichtenberger, better known as the author of children's stories.

Copenhague, ce 22 mai 97.

Cher Monsieur Lichtenberger

Je viens d'écrire à Monsieur Ortmans une réponse à la première question que vous me faites. J'espère pouvoir vous envoyer un article sur la littérature danoise dans une quinzaine de jours. Quant à l'article sur Ibsen, j'ai une prière à vous adresser (*sic*). Monsieur Edouard Rod fait dans ce moment traduire en Français un article que j'ai écrit sur ce sujet qui doit entrer dans un volume de mes essais qu'il prépare. Ayez la bonté de vous faire venir cet essai que je trouve assez considérable et imprimez le si cela vous va.

Quant à Holberg je me permets d'attirer votre attention sur un volume que j'ai écrit sur lui et ses contemporains et qui existe en traduction allemande: *Ludwig Holberg und seine Zeitgenossen*. Berlin, Robert Oppenheim, 1885. Malheureusement je ne connais pas la traduction française de ses pièces par MM. Marmier et Soldi. Mais Marmier qui a écrit sur nous était d'une ignorance phénoménale sur tout ce qui ait (*sic*) rapport au Danemark. Et Soldi que j'ai vu à Paris dans ma jeunesse était un pauvre blagueur sans aucune culture, tout à fait dépourvu de goût. Certes *Ulysse d'Ithaque* est un grand chef-d'œuvre mais comme parodie moins accessible aux étrangers et *l'Affaire* n'est pas des meilleures pièces de l'auteur.

Je vous conseille de prendre dans une bibliothèque la traduction allemande

*Dänische Schaubühne. Die vorzüglichsten Comödien des Freiherrn Ludwig v. Holberg.* Durch Julius Hoffry und Dr. Paul Schlenther. Berlin, Georg Reiner, 1888. C'est *Erasmus Montanus* qui est la grande pièce profondément originale et qu'il faudrait absolument jouer.

Veillez agréer, cher Monsieur Lichtenberger, l'assurance de toute ma considération et de toute ma sympathie.

Georges Brandes

Dans une collection allemande *Menschen und Werke*, seconde édition Frankfurt a/M (Rutten und Loening) 1895, vous trouverez encore un essai sur Holberg et quelques lettres que Nietzsche m'a écrit (*sic*) les dernières années de sa vie et qui peut-être vous intéresseront.

In the above letter only the post-scriptum is in Brandes' hand. The following one, in the turmoil of the Dreyfus Affair in France, answers a letter I wrote to Brandes some months after he had welcomed me in Denmark.

Copenhague, 3 avril 19

Cher Monsieur Baldensperger

La *Revue de Paris*, dont vous me parlez, ne m'a pas été envoyé (*sic*) encore. Monsieur Madsen, que vous nommez, a eu la bonté de traduire pour moi une espèce de manifeste aux Allemands que j'ai écrit un peu par ordre, c'est à dire que les Slesvigéois, membres du Landtag et du Reichstag allemands, et les chefs de deux corporations d'étudiants à Copenhague m'ont demandé de parler au nom de mes compatriotes.

Je suis heureux de voir votre écriture. Depuis longtemps je désirais entendre de vos nouvelles. Je n'ai pas oublié que vous m'avez envoyé votre carte au jour de l'an. Mais j'ai été très abattu. J'ai passé 3 mois et demi dans mon lit. L'inflammation de veines qui m'a pris 6 mois de l'an 1897 est revenue cette année, et bien que je suis levé depuis quelques jours je ne puis répondre rien de précis à l'invitation aimable que vous me communiquez. Je suis tellement en restant pour les travaux et tous les discours que j'ai promis depuis longtemps, que je n'ose à peine faire de nouvelles promesses.

Mais si je ne serai pas de nouveau malade l'hiver prochain il me sera certainement cher de visiter Zurich.

Bien merci que vous voulez me donner votre livre sur Keller. Vous savez peut-être que, dans le temps où j'étais hâf en Danemark, on a voulu me lapider pour avoir traduit deux de ses meilleures nouvelles. À présent depuis 2 ou 4 mois je suis devenu fort populaire ici subitement après 30 ans d'impopularité—et on édit (*sic*) mes Œuvres complètes en édition populaire à bon marché.

Comme vous vous intéressez à Baggessen (et Oehlenschläger) il faut vous indiquer la nouvelle biographie d'Oehlenschläger par Vilhelm Andersen, un peu trop plein d'hypothèses et quelquefois un peu enfantin dans ses constructions, mais *très spirituelle* et riche en matériaux nouveaux. (Il y a un petit essai sur Oehlenschläger dans mes Essais dont seulement la première moitié a été traduite en Allemand; sur Baggessen j'ai écrit un peu dans l'essay Goethe et le Danemark, mais vous le connaissez certainement en Allemand.)

Le soir que vous avez passé ici avec M. Madsen Edith dit: "Quelle différence entre le vrai Français et celui qui voudrait être Français! Madsen fut mille fois plus exotique que M. Baldensperger." Et c'était vrai, vous étiez habillé comme on s'habille en France, il était habillé comme on s'habille au quartier latin. Je lis tous les jours le *Siècle* et l'*Aurore*. Comme il est triste et étonnant ce qui se passe en France. On nous a changé à nous autres Européens la France cosmopolite de notre jeunesse. Je suis très fier que Picquart connait mon nom (dans le livre de Pressensé).

Je vous serre la main  
G. Brandes

The proposal alluded to was an invitation of the society "Lese-Zirkel Hottingen" (near Zurich) to have a lecture given by Brandes. The cosmopolitan trend, current in Switzerland, was in a way duplicating many points of view of the Danish critic. But, in spite of his fluent French style, he seems to resort with delight, in the following letter, to his native Danish.

Copenhague ce 1 Mai 1901

Cher Monsieur Baldensperger

Ne me croyez ni oublieux ni mal élevé. C'est la pure impossibilité de répondre aux lettres que je reçois qui fait mon silence. Et d'abord pour vous dire que je lis les livres que vous avez la bonté de m'envoyer, j'ai écrit dans le temps quelques petites notices au *Politiken* sur vos travaux *Aladdin* et *Keller* vous louant comme vous le méritez. Mais vous comprenez le Danois que j'écris plus coulamment (*sic*).

Hvad den ubetydelige Artikel om Verdensliteratur angaar, hvori noget har stødt Dem, saa var dens hele—og rigtige—Mening blot at protestere mod den Antagelse at det som virkelig er skrevet i et af de smaa Sprog, lader sig overføre i et større uden et umaadeligt Tab for den paagjældende Forfatter. Han mister umaadeligt, og overstraales derfor paa det store Marked af langt ringere Skribenter, der skriver deres eget Sprog. Den hele Artikel var skrevet rask ned paa en Formiddag ved et fransk Badested og jeg har glemt den; hvad De selv siger derom, er langt mere gennemtænkt og vægtigt. (Lidt bedrøvet blev jeg ved at se, De læser mig paa *Tysk*.)

De har nu ogsaa den hjerteligste Tak for Tilsendelsen af Deres nye Digte. De er lykkelig, at midt under Deres lærde Sysselsættelser Lyriken endnu rører sig i Dem og frembringer saa skønne Ting.

Her er Foraar og om et Par Dage rejser jeg bort. Jeg vilde saare gerne sende Dem noget til ringe Gjengæld for hvad De har givet mig, men jeg kan af Nyt kun skrive smaa Artikler, da min Tid optages af mine Samlede Skrifter. Der er en Mængde at samle, omarbejde og forbedre. Jeg har i lidt over to Aar faaet 7 tykke Bind fra Haanden.

Henrik Ibsen, som i Vinter har været ret syg, har slaaet Tankerne paa at skrive sine Værkers Historie af Hovedet. Der er mig intet tilkjendt angaaende et dansk Skrift om Maine de Biran; troer ikke at noget saadant er paa Stablen.

Jeg ser med Glæde at De havt Medgang og social Forfremmelse. Det er jo ogsaa umuligt andet med saa sjældne Kundskaber som Deres.

Gid De fremdeles vilde skjænke Nutidens Danmark Deres Interesse; den overstraales i Udlandet saa ganske og saa uretfærdigt af Norge.

Min Hustru og Edith sender Dem deres hjerteligste Hilsen.

Deres hengivne

Georg Brandes

Omitting a note dealing with purely private matters, I shall quote in full a letter written in the middle of World War I, when it seemed to many people among the Allies that Brandes had not taken whole-heartedly the side against Germany (where the Danish writer's daughter had married). A celebrated article under the vigorous heading: "Adieu, Brandes!" by Georges Clemenceau, who was formerly on friendly terms with the Danish critic—mainly at Carlsbad—had resulted in a definite rupture. Brandes' note speaks for itself.

Copenhagen, 23 Septembre 16

Cher Monsieur

Certes vous avez tous les droits de ne pas me faire visite. Comme je travaille depuis quelques mois de II h. le matin jusqu'à 3 h. la nuit, vous n'auriez pas été reçu. Je ne reçois personne.

Mais votre lettre m'a beaucoup étonné. Ce que vous m'écrivez sur mes opinions n'a vraiment pas le sens commun.

C'est absolument impossible que vous ayez lu mon livre sur la guerre. Il paraît qu'on vous a raconté des potins. Mes sentiments pour la France sont les mêmes qu'ils ont toujours été.

Ce n'est pas ma faute que les journalistes français ont la spécialité de se faire des ornements (*sic*) de leur ignorance, de se tresser des couronnes de leur ignorance, et de se forger des armes contre ceux qu'ils ne comprennent pas de cette même ignorance si crasse et si profonde.

Mais vous; vous qui savez notre langue, vous qui avez écrit sur notre Oeh-lenschläger mieux qu'aucun Danois, vous dont j'ai admiré le sain jugement et les dons de critique supérieur, vous! *Et tu, Brutel!*

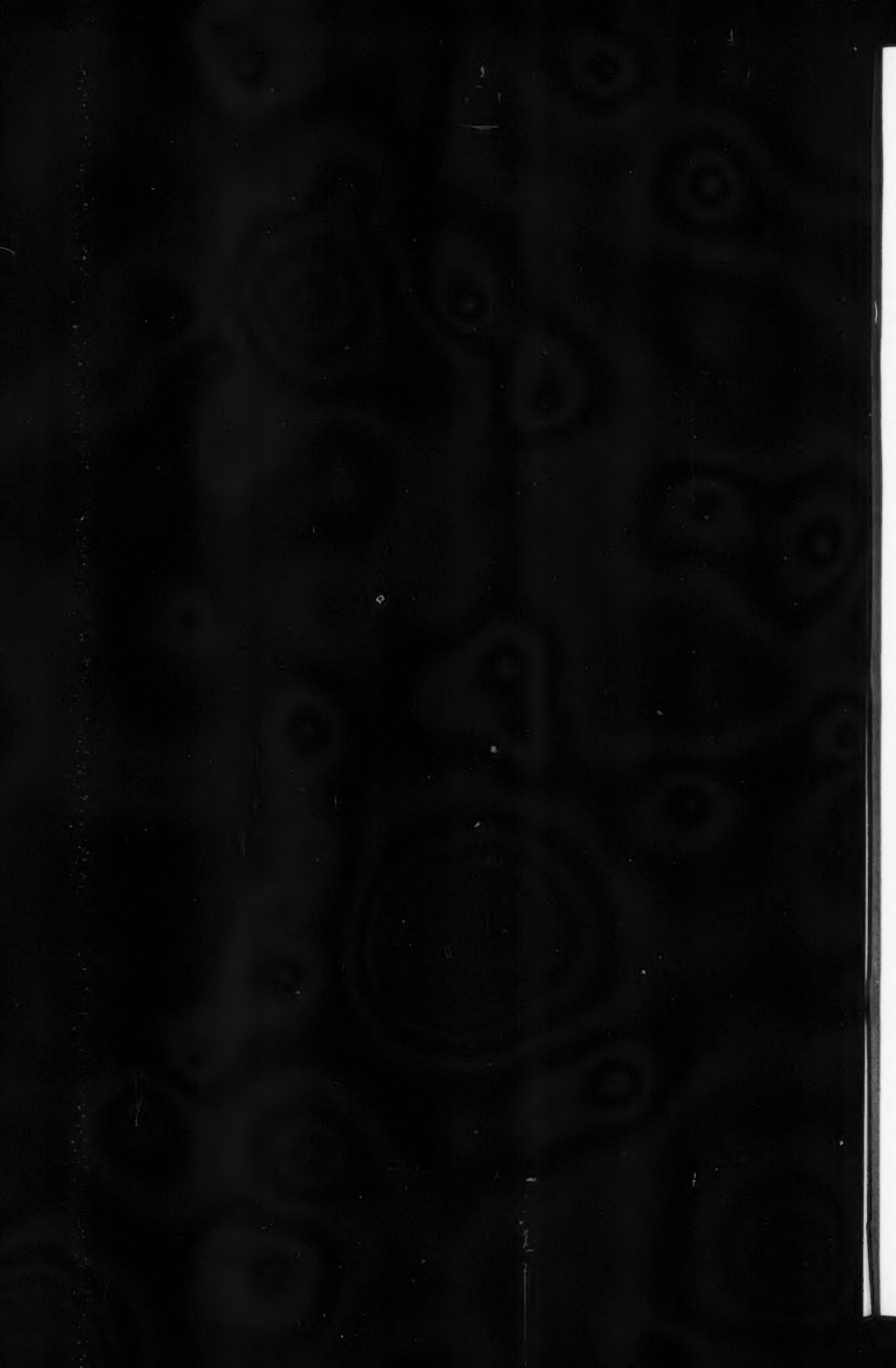
Georg Brandes

*Sic transit* . . . Unpleasant as may be a rebuke of that kind, in times when total unity of views is doubly dear to former friends, such a fighting spirit, a few years before Brandes' death in 1927, testifies amply to the mental energy of the Danish "radical."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my thanks to my good colleague W. Westergaard for his kind help in deciphering for the press the hurried handwriting of the passages in Danish.







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